2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50



463 the great majority still are today. For them the family has always been the basic unit of production. As much as five months of the 592 year are spent non-productively (Ranga, 1934, 9–10), but during the other months every member of the family, even a child, makes some contribution to the traditional family economy. Adults work in the fields and are helped by boys and girls when necessary (462) (Harkness, 1832, 114–115). Men do the heavier work, such as forking, ploughing or clearing stones, and women the lighter work, mainly planting, weeding and harvesting (Ward, 1821, lxx, lxxiii; Jagor, 1876, 201–202: Ranga, 1934, 8; Noble, 1968, 143–148). As well as their field-work women are responsible for cooking and for (883) all the housekeeping, including the laundry.[25] Adolescent boys work as cowherds; girls take care of babies whose mothers are in • (857) the fields (Harkness, 1832, 113). Children also do the initial preparation of meals before the women return home each day. (887) People too old to work in the fields stay at home minding the children and keeping an eye on what passes within the village (Jagor, 1876, 194).

463 This pattern has been modified somewhat by a trend among the more educated men to work away from the village. At first a few (178) were employed in the towns as peons, clerks, builders and labourers, and throughout the district as primary school teachers.[26] During the First World War some young men began (464) working in the munitions factory near Wellington (it still employs (871) many Badagas). Then, in the 1920s, the first Badagas attended university and returned to professional positions in the Nilgiris. Of these professionals the most influential small group have been the parliamentarians—M.P.s and M.L.A.s—many of whom are from one extended family whose fortune was initially established by labour contraction (see Diagram 9, p. 179). More numerous today are the doctors and lawyers. Other Badagas who though less well-educated no longer follow their traditional occupation include school-teachers, government officials, bus drivers, contractors and factory workers.

496 A correlate of this move towards the towns has been the breakdown of customary labouring methods. There were two kinds (478) of cooperative labour: in one a number of families (usually from one lineage) would pool their labour to farm an area and then would divide up the produce proportionately; in the other, several families would work for a particular farmer but have no share in his produce: he in turn would help them with their cultivation. For

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50



things. Love stories are not told to children under 13. The adults themselves are not really interested in stories, only in folksongs. Adults also sing to their children, and encourage them to learn special children's songs from an early age; but they do also pick up adult folksongs simply by listening to them.

5.18. Child upbringing does not appear to be particularly repressive. The relative freedom that smaller children enjoy, is summed up in a proverb: "Children [left out on] the right-of-way will grow; children [kept in] the room get rotten." Children are disciplined by a variety of threats. They are told they will be given away, if bad, to a Golla mendicant or a Kurumba tribesman. The coming of a ghost, demon, or a vaccinator is another common threat; or they may be told a tiger or a pig will take them away. Otherwise people compare a bad child unfavourably with the behaviour of his childhood friend. These threats and comparisons have little effect on older children. From the age of five or six children are jokingly told about a certain cross-cousin who will come to marry them "next year." This threat or promise is also used to enjoin proper behaviour: "If your wife saw you, she'd abuse you" (or conversely, "she'd marry you at once"). When there seems to be a choice among several cousins the parents may ask a child which he prefers, or threaten to bring a bad one to him if he misbehaves. The same treatment is used to discipline girls, with the additional possibility of telling a small girl she will be given away in marriage to a beggar, a Kota or a Kurumba, instead of to a Badaga husband. Adolescent children may not be disciplined so gently, and some of them are not unfamiliar with a rope's end.

Kindness and outright bribery are also lavished on children, as evidenced in the saying: "It is like influencing children by giving them crude sugar."

5.19. Between the ages of five and seven children go through a transition marked by some major changes in their daily habits. In the old days some girls would become child-brides after reaching the age of five. Nowadays the transition means spending much of the week in school instead of at home. There are other changes too. The children begin to eat from their own plates. Girls stop sleeping with their fathers, though they may continue to sleep with their mothers or with other children. Boys are now embarrassed to sleep with their mothers or sisters. If there are several boys or several girls of similar age on one street they now band together

and all sleep in a vacant house, or one where only a widow lives, or one with a newborn baby (and hence no possibility of adult sexual activity at night). If a group is sleeping in such a house children of the opposite sex are not allowed in it.

5.20. In the last century children might only wash once a month, and be really dirty the rest of the time. Now they are washed every evening, and after reaching five years they do this for themselves. In the morning they only wash the face and clean the teeth with charcoal and a twig. Until about 1930 girls below five wore no undergarments but were simply wrapped in a loincloth. Even above that age boys and girls from very poor families continued to dress like that. Now both boys and girls wear vests and underpants from an early age. I will not offer further details on their dress here, as a full account may be found in Hockings (1979 b). By the age of seven or eight children knew how to wash their clothes; but since about 1930 and the requirements of schooling they have usually given their dirty clothes to an obliging sister or mother.

5.21. In summary, we can see that children become enculturated partly by the tales their elders entertain them with, and partly by moving freely around the village, doing things together like working and playing and sleeping. As in all parts of India, small children look to their elder siblings for guidance and leadership. As one proverb expresses this, "If the firstborn is not up to the ears, how can the later-born reach to the horns?" Outdoor group games are popular with the very young, and will be supervised by some old man or woman. In later childhood team sports such as football and a near-lethal form of field hockey are played between village teams. There are also hopscotch games, board games and string figures to while away the time or sharpen the wits of children at various ages. As we will now outline, there is also a series of childhood ceremonies which educate a young person in the values and the structure of his society, and in some cases affect his appearance and attitudes.

*Childhood Ceremonies*

5.22. This is not the place to offer a detailed ethnographic account of the various life-cycle ceremonies that are performed: they have already been described elsewhere by Natesa Sastri (1892) and

## Employment

463 Prior to 1913 all Badagas were primarily agriculturists; for the great ma-
592 jority of the people this is still true today. Although as much as five months of the farming year is spent non-productively (Ranga 1934: 9-10), every member of the family, even the child, makes some contribution to the traditional family economy.
241 Adults work in the fields, and are helped by boys and girls when necessary (Hark-
462 ness 1832: 114-15). Men do the heavier work, such as forking or plowing, and women do the lighter work, mainly planting, weeding and harvesting (Ward 1821:
241 lxx, lxxiii; Ranga 1934: 8). Adolescents work as cowherds, and girls also take
883 care of small babies while the mothers are out in the fields (Harkness 1832: 113).
857 Children also do the preliminary work of cooking before the women return home
462 each day. As well as field-work, women do the main part of the cooking and are responsible for all of the house-keeping, including the laundry (Jagor 1876: 201-02).
887 People too old to work in the fields stay at home minding the children and keeping an eye on what passes within the village during the day-time (Jagor 1876: 194).

178 This pattern has been modified somewhat by the trend among the more
463 educated Badagas to work away from the village. At first a few Badagas were being employed in the towns as peons, clerks, builders and laborers, and throughout the District as teachers (Thurston 1909: I, 63; Ranga 1934: 8; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 248). During the First World War some young men worked in a muni-
(571) tions factory at Wellington. Then, in the 1920's, the first Badagas attended col-
(550) leges and returned to professional positions in the Nilgiris. Of these professional the most influential small group have been the parliamentarians, M.P.'s and M.L.A.'s, nearly all of them coming from one family. More numerous are the doctors and lawyers. Other less well-educated Badagas who no longer follow their tradi-

241 with mixed plants are also maintained, but these gardens may be miles away from their owners' houses and on outer Nilgiri slopes. Because
423 land is divided equally among sons upon a father's death, extensive
428 land fragmentation has taken place. To prevent further fragmentation, there is now a tendency for sons to share and jointly manage land.
311 Communal pastures are close enough to permit the keeping of livestock
361 in communities. Individually owned and communal plots covered with
245 acacia, eucalyptus, and temperate fruit trees now occur near Badaga
137 communities. Due to intensive or slowly continued tempera^e forest
318 clearance, only a few small remnant patches of natural fore main on the slopes near many hamlets and villages.

The outstanding features of Badaga hamlets and villages are the
361 house-rows with compacted earth courtyards edged by low walls (Figure
351 17). House rows within a single community usually parallel each other and are frequently aligned in an easterly-westerly direction, but on
361 flatter terrain they may surround a courtyard on two sides. Because
364 the Badagas consider it sinful to throw waste water toward the sun,
783 Lord Shiva's emblem, through alignment of houses in an easterly-westerly direction housewives may throw waste water through the back door or over the front courtyard wall without throwing it toward the sun.
841 One dwelling within a community house-row is set apart as a confinement place for menstruating women or women undergoing a postnatal pollution
368 period. In addition to dwellings, house-like temples are built into
243 house-rows. Grain is threshed and agricultural produce or firewood is
313 dried on the courtyards. These also serve as playgrounds for children,
857 as sites for performance of ceremonial rites, and as dance arenas
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 1231

857 during festive occasions. Badaga women frequently, sometimes daily,
796 wash over sections fronting their houses with cowdung solution to keep
535 the courtyards flattened out and cleansed. Low earthen or stone walls
956 edging courtyards define property limits and add to the privacy of
house inhabitants living within house-rows immediately below. Badaga
351 women sometimes store firewood or keep flower gardens on the wall tops,
but they are usually grass covered.

368 Separate shrines and temples stand in communities or on grassy
plots outside. Some Badagas own storage huts where agricultural
implements, fertilizer, seed-potatoes, and agricultural produce are
366 stored. Small coffee, tea, and supply shops are increasing in number
within Badaga villages. Hot beverages, as well as hotmeats, sweetmeats,
rice, and curry, are served in the coffee and tea shops. From supply
shops are obtained cigarettes, matches, grains, pulses, and vegetables.
Areca nut, betel leaf, lime, and perhaps tobacco, which are combined
and chewed, are also sold. Blacksmiths, building and supply contrac-
tors, carpenters, jewellers, and other entrepreneurs have established
368 businesses in Badaga villages. A single government office, or combin-
ation of offices such as panchayat, police, post, and telegraph offices
may also be present. Church or government schools are now located in
or near many communities.

231 Hamlets and villages still have circular cattle-pens built in
[361] natural depressions or enclosed with stone walls, but cattle-hut con-
struction is slowly leading to abandonment of the pens. Goats and
sheep are kept at night on raised platforms within goat- and sheep-
(654) huts. Monetary inducements offered by the Madras Government have

243 placed in small heaps, and burned when dry. Plows used in soil prep-
(407) aration were of a general type presently used in southern India. Some
(175) doubtlessly had a metal strip attached to the share, but Ouchterlony
(1848: 31) stated that the share was "almost invariably a piece of
pointed wood, of a tough description, hardened in the fire, and not
shod with iron, or any other metal." Plowing was performed by two
(492) methods. In the first, a lead team of yoked cattle drawing a plow was
followed by five or six similar teams drawing plows. After plows
scraped a single furrow, paralleled furrows were formed by forcing the
(492) cattle to pull plows in lines paralleling the first. When the other
method was used, a single team of yoked cattle pulled a plow over a
field as many as five times. During each replowing, furrows were
(462) crossed. After the men had finished the plowing, women and children
(857) with small hoes worked over the soil, broke up clods, removed weeds,
and piled them in small heaps. After the weeds were burned, the ashes
were scattered over the ground. Cattle manure from cattle pens was
mixed with community trash, loaded into baskets, and carried to fields.
After being broadcast, the fertilizer was worked into the soil through
another plowing or with hoes. Men broadcast seeds, or planted seeds,
plants, and seed potatoes (later 1800s) in rows. Sown seeds were
covered by a last plowing or light hoeing. Women and children usually
weeded the fields two or more times. To speed this process up, rows
(592) of weeders sometimes worked cooperatively. Harvesting was performed
(412) by all family members, and sickles were the main harvesting implements.
Bundles of straw with grain or baskets loaded with grain heads were
carried as head loads to threshing floors. Temporary threshing floors

244 period (Figure 15).

412 In present dry field crop production land occasionally remains unterraced, but is more often shallowly terraced. Many farmers are

241 now, by requirement of the Madras Government, hewing out slopes to

(656) form horizontal croplands on tiered terraces (Plate X, C). Dry fields frequently remain unenclosed. When land left in fallow for some time is again to be cultivated, vegetation will first be removed and burned in small piles.

244 In preparing ground for potatoes, men turn the soil with digging forks. After about two or three weeks, clods are broken by women and

(462) children. Both blunt and forked sides of hoe-forks are used in this

(857) task. Undesirable stones and weeds are removed at the same time. Stones are utilized in terrace or wall construction, and ashes from weeds burned in piles are scattered over the land. Manure and compost brought in by women, bullock carts, or trucks are scattered over the

(439) soil. Badagas sometimes purchased buffalo-dung from the Todas. After fertilizer has been worked into the soil with hoes or hoe-forks, paralleled potato ridges are constructed with similar implements. As this is a hard task, men often assist. Men, women, and children do the planting. A small amount of chemical fertilizer is included with each seed potato. At least two weedings are carried out through use

(462) of smaller hoes, hoe-forks, and small weeding-hoes. Women and children

(857) usually perform this task, and at the same time they mound the ridges. The first mounding aids in keeping spreading roots covered, and the

(592) second helps protect the plant bases from strong monsoon winds. Most

(251) family members work during the busy harvest season. After tubers dug

B 243 B [462] [857] are planted together each time, and small clumps are spaced about nine inches to one foot apart. The amount of weeding performed by women and children before or after rice is transplanted depends upon the individuals concerned, but some weeding is usually done. As rice ripens, watch-huts built on stilts amidst fields or on hill slopes nearby are occupied in shifts by men, women, or children who make noises to drive away animals and birds. B [221] Harvesting takes place mainly in January, but rice is also harvested in December and February. Grain removal is facilitated by the fields drying up before harvesters, mainly women, B [482] start working with sickles. Cut rice stalks are carried in headloads by men and women to threshing floors near the houses. Muzzled bulls are strung together and forced to walk abreast around posts rising from threshing floors. Grain on hay laid beneath the bulls' feet is thus slowly threshed out. Months later, other grain is threshed in like manner from straw piled on stilted platforms or straw heaped about B [251] poles rising near threshing floors. Sun-dried grain is stored within [231] large grain baskets or wooden chests placed in homes. The remaining threshed straw is fed to livestock or used for thatching.

B 463 434 439 Additional income. As far back as 1881 the Badagas were working on neighboring plantations, and a fair number of males are presently employed on plantations (Jennings 1881: 60). A few Badagas obtain income by selling milk to coffee and tea shops in nearby villages.

## 2. The Kotas

Ko 342 Most Kotas at Kalac, Gudalur, live in eight houses with brick